1:Du Bois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alter OFS

succession. They bent pieces of wood representing gongs. They organ- 357
ize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses. This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt arrows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is on a voluntary basis and is usually joyfully entered into as long as they are in the mood for it.

In most instances, boys are not compelled on to render valuable serv- 355
ices. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old 353
enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable 367
pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was censured by the men present, none of them made any move to interfere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there 346
is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes.

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and 357
eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in 358
adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situation, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint, children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away when nonfunctionally obtrusive.

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dra- 441
matic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero- 353
victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally 672
known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equivalent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumukun had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

§61 §58 §72 yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this instance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

§72 §61 By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then §47 delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

§72 §58 §61 The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First, children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

§58 The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one, but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such occurrences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

The deserted husband felt that the child simply
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage,
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac-
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some
years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to ap-
pease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, al-
though I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a
troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157
there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take
his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec-
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group
responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of
territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incal-
culable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person
committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography
contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting
and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as
though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk.
There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare
in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids be-
fore Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in
the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered
a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed
to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli
of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in re-
venge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in
selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the
instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim
no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

159 up the caterpillars. There were many people and each one got only a little.

The next morning Maikusi [the informant's older brother] and I went to the fields. Maikusi killed a bird with a stone. He gave it to me, saying that mother would cook it for us when she came. When mother arrived, we cooked and ate the bird together. Then we worked in the field and in the evening returned to the village.

One day mother and my older brothers went to the fields to work, and I stayed home to take care of the children. The children cried. Fairuma, an old woman, called, saying, "Maniakusi [equivalent to our bogeyman] is coming." She frightened the children, so they stopped crying. When they cried again I told them to be quiet because Maniakusi was near. Just then the village caught fire and burned up. Langmai had been sacrificing to his sacred hearth, and he had not put his fire out properly. It caught in the thatch of his house and it burned up. The whole center of the village with the lineage houses burned, and only the houses at the two ends of the village were left. There were only children in the village, because all the adults had gone off to work in the fields. We stood and cried and yelled to our parents to come. People from Alurkowati and Dikimpe came to help. Kolmusi's house almost caught fire, but the people from Alurkowati and Dikimpe climbed up and put it out. All the people took everything from their houses, the corn and pigs, and set them on the edge of the village. We gave all who helped presents of corn. Tilalewati [a lineage house] burned down; all the men were away. Our house did not burn because it was at one end of the village. First a small house caught, and then Molwati [a lineage house] burned, and then the others caught fire and the food in them was destroyed. Kolwati [a lineage house] almost burned, but the people climbed up on the thatch and poured water on it. The corn that people took out of their houses was all stolen except Lommai's, because his family came to help him, so they did not steal it. Langmai, who was 172 responsible for the fire, paid a big pig for the burning of the Maikiera 683 lineage house [Tamukwati] and for Kolkiera's lineage house [Lonwati]. But he did not pay for Tilalewati because he said he belonged to that lineage house and he would rebuild it. For a small lineage house [*rua kadang*] also called Lonwati, he paid a small pig.

December 27, 1938

I dreamed that Padaboi came to Likma and said, "They are going to feed the Djawa cooks in Rualmelang. Let us go." But Likma said, "I